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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:WSMITH:TH

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S/S-O:JTHYDEN

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FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF, IS, US

SUBJECT: DAYAN'S IDEAS ON WEST BANK FIVE-YEAR REVIEW

1. SUMMARY. YOU SHOULD APPROACH DAYAN IN NEAR FUTURE TO EXPLORE HIS THINKING ON DIVISION OF ISSUES TO BE LEFT FOR REVIEW AT END OF FIVE YEARS AND THOSE TO BE FIXED IN ADVANCE. YOU WILL RECALL HE PROMISED ME TO REFLECT CAREFULLY ON THIS MATTER AFTER HIS RETURN TO ISRAEL AND TO DEVELOP SOME IDEAS. BELOW IS REVIEW FOR YOUR BACKGROUND OF HIS MARCH 21 COMMENTS, WHICH TOUCHED ON SOVEREIGNTY; RESETTLEMENT OF SOME OF LEBANON'S PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN, WEST BANK AND ISRAEL; ISRAELI MILITARY INSTALLATIONS; ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS; VISITS TO SITES OF JEWISH

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TRADITIONAL SIGNIFICANCE; CONTINUED EMPLOYMENT IN ISRAEL FOR GAZANS; OPEN BORDERS; DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AMONG ISRAEL, JORDAN AND INHABITANTS; AUTHORITY OF JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT; CITIZENSHIP FOR GAZANS; AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GAZA AND JORDAN. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING MY MARCH 21 MEETING WITH DAYAN, HE AGREED WITH

ME THAT CLEARER PICTURE WAS NEEDED OF NATURE OF PROPOSED REVIEW OF STATUS OF WEST BANK/GAZA TO TAKE PLACE AT END OF FIVE-YEAR PERIOD AND WHAT HAPPENS THERE AFTER THAT PERIOD, THAN BEGIN SELF-RULE PLAN OFFERS. DAYAN RETURNED

TO SUBJECT SEVERAL TIMES, INDICATING HE HIMSELF WOULD FEEL BETTER IF VARIOUS ISRAELI SECURITY CONCERNCS COULD BE ISOLATED IN ADVANCE FROM UNSETTLING PRESSURES AT TIME OF FIVE-YEAR REVIEW. WHEN I ASKED HIM TOWARD END OF MEETING IF HE WOULD WRITE DOWN WHICH ISSUES REVIEW SHOULD ADDRESS, AND HOW, AND WHICH ONES SHOULD BE EXEMPT, HE WAS QUITE RESPONSIVE. I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE HIM UP ON HIS OFFER TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION AFTER HIS--AND YOUR--RETURN TO ISRAEL.

3. SINCE YOU WERE ABSENT FROM PART OF MARCH 21 MEETING, RECAPITULATION FOLLOWS OF REMARKS DAYAN MADE ON THIS SUBJECT.

(A) ISRAEL WAS NOT SAYING THAT THERE SHOULD NEVER BE DECISION ON SOVEREIGNTY OVER AREA; ON CONTRARY, AT END OF FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, ISSUE WOULD GO ON AGENDA; KEEPING SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE IN ABEYANCE COULD HARDLY SERVE AS FINAL SOLUTION; IN FACT, IT COULD BE BROUGHT UP AT ANY TIME DURING FIVE-YEAR PERIOD; AT END OF PERIOD, ISRAEL, JORDAN, AND PALESTINIAN ARABS WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE.

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(B) BEST WAY WAS TO REACH AGREEMENT NOW ON NEXT FIVE YEARS AND SOME GUIDELINES AS TO WHAT WAS TO TAKE PLACE AT END OF FIVE YEARS; PROVISION WAS NEEDED FOR WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN AT END--IT COULD NOT BE LEFT VAGUE.

(C) WORKING COMMITTEE (?) COULD DECIDE WHICH REFUGEES WOULD STAY IN LEBANON AND WHICH ONES WOULD GO TO JORDAN AND WEST BANK AND PERHAPS EVEN ISRAEL; ISRAELI PEOPLE COULD THEN LOOK AT THINGS DIFFERENTLY.

(D) SOMETHING NEEDED TO BE SPECIFIED ABOUT ISRAELI MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, WHICH COULD NOT BE DECIDED IN REFERENDUM; INHABITANTS ALSO SHOULD NOT DECIDE FUTURE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS.

(E) IF DAYAN KNEW WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN FROM VIEWPOINT OF ISRAELI SECURITY, HE COULD LIVE MORE EASILY WITH REFERENDUM IDEA. BUT IT WOULD BE MISLEADING TO HAVE SECURITY AS ONLY CRITERION; FUTURE OF WESTERN WALL, OF JEWISH PRAYER AT HEBRON CAVE, AND OF VISITS TO SEVERAL OTHER SITES OF TRADITIONAL IMPORTANCE COULD NOT BE DECIDED ON BASIS OF

SECURITY.

(F) GAZA WAS COMPLICATED BY ECONOMIC SITUATION; THERE
WERE NO FACTORIES THERE, AND IF RESIDENTS WERE TO CONTINUE
WORKING IN ISRAEL, PROVISION MIGHT BE NEEDED FOR OPEN

BORDERS BETWEEN GAZA AND ISRAEL AND ALSO BETWEEN WEST BANK
AND ISRAEL.

(G) BEGIN DID NOT REJECT IDEA OF ISRAELI-JORDANIAN
FEDERATION OVER WEST BANK; HE PROBABLY ALSO WOULD NOT
REJECT ANY ISSUE INHABITANTS MIGHT WANT TO DISCUSS, PRO-
VIDED UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT WAS REQUIRED. BEGIN HAD SAID
THERE WERE MANY QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED AMONG WEST

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BANKERS, ISRAEL, AND JORDAN AND HAD MENTIONED QUESTION OF
AUTHORITY OF JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT AND ALSO ISSUE OF
IMMIGRATION.

(H) GAZA WAS MAJOR PROBLEM BECAUSE GAZANS WERE NOT
JORDANIAN CITIZENS AND IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THEY
WANTED JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP OR WHETHER JORDAN WAS
PREPARED TO OFFER IT. THERE ALSO WAS QUESTION OF
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GAZA AND JORDAN, ENTAILING MOVEMENT
THROUGH ISRAELI TERRITORY.

4. WITH THIS BACKGROUND, YOU SHOULD APPROACH DAYAN FOR
FURTHER EXPLORATION OF HIS VIEWS. COOPER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PEACE, MILITARY OCCUPIED AREAS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE080954
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WSMITH:TH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840163-0399, N780004-0107
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780312/aaaaajpn.tel
Line Count: 149
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: bcb9d1ba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3155053
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DAYAN'S IDEAS ON WEST BANK FIVE-YEAR REVIEW
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, XF, IS, US, (DAYAN, MOSHE)
To: TEL AVIV CAIRO MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/bcb9d1ba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014